T. S. Eliot *Reed Whittemore*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

January 16, 1965, 35 cents

The President

"Restless, Growing, Full of Hope"

The Editors

Snooping in the Park — *James Ridgeway*

Vietnam Hawks — *Bernard B. Fall*

Raising Cain in Steel — *Hirschel Kasper*

War on Injustice — *Ronald Goldfarb*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

"Congress Is A Hoss"

★ The ghosts of "Uncle Joe" Cannon and George Norris were speaking to each other, the other evening, about the ancient power struggle between the Speaker and the House Rules Committee.

They were carrying on a debate of 55 years. I happened to overhear them when I lingered in the cozy Rules Committee room hideaway, ruminating on the transience of political reforms. The bells rang for a distant roll call and a faint glow came through the four-feet thick window embrasures in the ancient Capitol.

The House, 224-201, had upset the Norris revolution of 1910 by which Insurgents dethroned "Czar" Cannon.

"And so you lost after all, George!" cackled Uncle Joe, in a voice like a stage representation of an old farmer. He was sitting in Chairman Howard W. Smith's chair, I noticed.

"Who let you in here?" curtly demanded George Norris. "We threw the Speaker out of this committee in 1910!"

I gazed in awe. What types! The eternal Conservative and the eternal Liberal. Speaker Cannon's formidable face was bracketed in whiskers down to a grizzled beard that fitted into the triangle of his wing-collar and black bow tie. Here was the man who ruled the House with rural wit and iron hand. Power twinkled out of his shrewd eyes. He served 23 terms (1873-1923) and once, as Speaker, told the House, "The 'Ayes' make the most noise, but the 'Nays' have it!"

Slumped in a chair across the table was his great opponent, young George Norris of Nebraska, savior of Muscle Shoals and victor over "Cannonism." His chunky figure was dressed in drab black, and he wore a shoestring tie. His mild and transparently honest face had eyes that were unmistakably shrewd.

"You liberals, George!" sneered the Speaker. "You don't know where you be, or where you're bound!" Even in the taunt, however, there was a kind of disarming, brutal whimsicality. The "hayseed member from Illinois" was obviously wrestling once more with the unfathomable enigma of nonconformists, insurgents and reformers. He continued, "You got to curb and bit a hoss, George, and Congress is a hoss. It behaved all right when I put a choker in its mouth. And now, after 50 years of running wild, they've put it back in harness again! I told you they would. They had to. When you ruined me the power went to the Rules Committee and all the chairmen. Now they've revolted against the Rules Committee, and its coming back to poor old John McCormack. Fifty years, George; fifty years!"

I expected a bitter reply, but instead the Nebraskan said mildly, "Well, maybe we did go a bit too far, Mr. Speaker; you know how young men are."

It was Uncle Joe who angrily bristled. "Now none of that soft soap on me, George Norris," he shouted. "You fooled me once – I'm willing to admit I thought you was a ninny with those innocent little eyes of yours – when you sprang that trap on me. You've got a deceptive holy innocence on your face that would fool Mark Hanna, but I'll say one thing of you, you can count your votes."

Not Often Fooled

★ "Why, thanks! I really appreciate that. All I can say is you weren't often fooled! You not only appointed the committees but were chairman of the Rules Committee. You decided what bills came in, what rules governed them on the floor, and, as Speaker, whom you would recognize. I was just a simple boy from Nebraska, trying to get on with fellow Republicans."

"Simple boy! – I still can't understand why you did it, George."

"You never will. You see, I think America is for people. But what happened? After the Civil War, trusts and monopolies built an organization that ran Congress, through you, and protected their interests. Then along came Teddy – "

"That cowboy!" snorted the Speaker.

"And so came St. Patrick's Day, 1910, and we had our little revolution. The insurgents and the Democrats, under Champ Clark [he became Speaker] and 'Cord' Hull [he became Secretary of State], we changed things a bit. The vote was 191-156. I was three votes off. I still remember the headlines."

"You changed things!" All the twinkle was out of the Speaker's eyes now and they turned cold and fierce. "What you reformers did was to destroy party discipline, party government and majority rule in the House of Representatives. Those 'fraidy-cats of yours can't govern; you turned power from the Speaker over to the committee chairmen. Tell me, George, tell me, do you prefer Judge Smith to me?"

"The Same Revolt"

★ His shot had got home. Norris clamped his jaw and glared up at the ropes of glittering prisms in the chandelier. He slapped the table. "You're much alike, I'd say!" he cried. "But can't you see that it's the same revolt, only against another person? Maybe we did go too far in 1910, but you goaded us on. Your Mark Hanna, pulling strings for McKinley – "

"Bill McKinley," repeated the Speaker contemptuously. "Another milk-sop. He kept his ear so close to the ground he got it full of grasshoppers."

The recess bell rang. The light faded in the committee room, a small but opulent hideaway that not one tourist in a thousand knows about. Yet it is a center of congressional power – or was until the House voted. Democrats voted 208 to 78 for the 21-day discharge rule to curb Judge Smith; Republicans, 16 to 123 against. Not a single Democrat north of Virginia voted "Nay."

I left them arguing – the Speaker saying that the House was coming back full circle to party discipline; the father of TVA maintaining that a different kind of Congress was emerging.

Which was right? The debate started when the country began. Last week's House vote gave it a new twist.

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The President

Our first full-length view of Lyndon Johnson as President was given us in his message on the State of the Union. He ceased being the finisher of what President Kennedy had begun and stepped forth as leader of the nation in his own right. It was an occasion of strained attention because even in our short national history we have learned that the rule *nisi imperasset* did not apply to Roman Galba alone – more than one American has looked like a President until he actually became President.

Mr. Johnson survived the first test. It was, of course, a formality. Nobody expects anything sensational in a State of the Union message and nothing unexpected appeared in this one. But it was significant less for its words than for the President's projection on television of the impression that we have here a character at once imperturbable and inexorable. Crises of many kinds he mentioned, but merely in passing to his summation – that the state of the nation is "free, restless, growing and full of hope."

The fact that it is also full of fears he passed over, presumably on the ground that it is not worthy of note. It is the attitude characteristic of an imperturbable man. On the other hand, the fact that the country is restless strikes him as highly noteworthy – a condition of which his Administration must take official cognizance.

His proposals comprise a program designed to meet this restlessness. None of them is new. Each of them has been debated extensively and intensively for years. Some of them have been rejected by Congresses preceding this one, and all have been blocked and evaded by one device or another. But here they are back again, and behind them all the weight of the Presidential authority, exercised by a President who lost only one state to his formal opponent and only five to his informal opponent, Jim Crow, trading under the name of the Republican Party.

There is no occasion to doubt that the President believes in all of his proposals; but that is not the reason for their reiteration at this time. Johnson, the able politician, is persuaded that each proposal is approved by a clear majority, and most of them by a large majority, of the voters. Any able politician in the White House will not only conform to the will of the majority himself, but will as a matter of simple self-preservation be inexorable in his demand that Congress also conform to it.

The State of the Union message is, of course, merely an outline,

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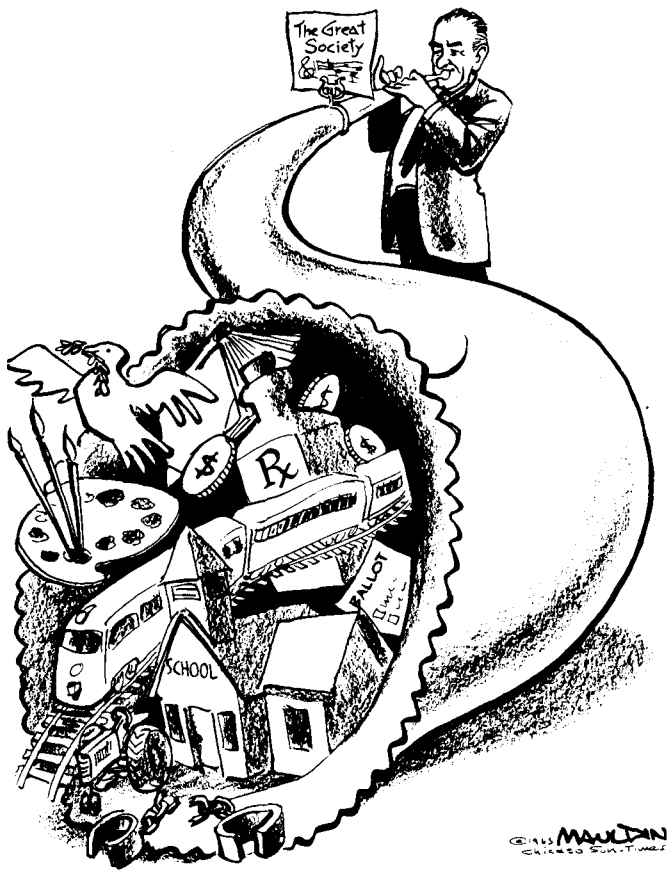
and the way it is filled in may alter the entire coloration of the thing. Hence it is idle at this time to attempt to assess it in detail. It is not to be expected that this consideration will restrain all criticism. For instance, the President's reference to help for private as well as public schools will be interpreted in some quarters as the thin edge of the wedge that will eventually split the public school system by the intrusion of theological disputation that for safety's sake ought to be restricted to the church and the home.

Similarly, the war-weary may be chilled by his treatment of Vietnam. His description of the way in which we first became involved in that unfortunate country was, let us say, conventional, highly stylized, bearing about as much resemblance to the known facts as a heraldic lion does to the creature in the zoo. But it must be borne in mind that the message was addressed to the outside world, as well as to Congress and the American people. What the President repeated was our story and we are stuck with it. There we are, and the way out is anything but clearly apparent. Until a path is open, the President is prevented from saying in public that we want to get out, no matter what he may be saying in private to his diplomatic agents. There is no justification for assuming that the State of the Union message has nailed our flag to the mast in Vietnam.



Cornucopia

All it did was reiterate United States determination not to retreat in disorder.

On the home front, the tone of the message suggested Mr. Johnson himself is "restless, growing and full of hope." The Presidency may in fact be illuminating qualities in Lyndon Johnson that were only dimly evident to the public during his career in Congress. We are all familiar with Johnson the practical politician who gets things done, but now perhaps we are to be made acquainted with Johnson the dreamer and Johnson the teacher. In his first speech in 1965 he has proposed a program to "enlarge the meaning of life" which Republican Leader Everett Dirksen calls "a blueprint of Paradise." When he was in Congress, Mr. Johnson was almost totally occupied with day-to-day chores concerning pending bills, usually proposed by someone else. As President, he has drawn up a program that stretches well into the future. The recommendations for action in the State of the Union address are not so much a shopping list as a reading list for the course on the Great Society which Professor Johnson will offer in the coming semesters. To President Eisenhower, who practiced it, the theory of "government by consensus" was analogous to public opinion polling. To President Kennedy, with his very marginal victory in 1960, the consensus represented a ceiling to be pierced with great care – many felt that in this respect Kennedy was guilty of too much caution. To President Johnson, the consensus may be only a floor from which he will climb as far and fast as he can without falling.

THE STATE OF THE UNION

Medicare

The applause that greeted President Johnson's mention of medical care for 19 million elderly Americans, in the State of the Union message, suggests that the necessary votes for it are there and have been for some time. The more liberal composition of the House of Representatives and a remodeled Ways and Means Committee augur well for Medicare. This session's proposed legislation would provide up to 60 days in hospital with the elderly patient paying for only one day; another 60 days of post-hospital care in a convalescent home; outpatient diagnostic services and 240 home-health visits a year by nurses. The program, financed from Social Security taxes with federal help, would apparently cost about $802 million, for the last six months of 1966, and $1.8 billion for all of 1967.

But there are problems that are not reflected in those estimates. This country already has a shortage of about 150,300 hospital beds and the figure would be larger if all hospital beds met the states' standards for health

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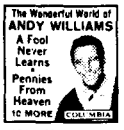
1583. Also: Funny, Forever And A Day, On Broadway, etc. *

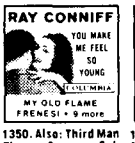


1351. Also: Dream, This Is All I Ask, Noelle, 12 in all

1556. World's Fair, Unisphere, Iberia, Elementals, 2 more

1609. Also: Gotta Right to Cry, It's All Right, etc.

1459. The Academy Award Winning score by John Addison



1350. Also: Third Man Theme, Caravan, Solitude, etc.

1519. Also: Twist And Shout, Walkin' The Dog, etc.

1571. Also: School Day, Hey Little Freshman, Bucket "T", etc.

1593. Gordon Jenkins' musical poems inpraiseofManhattan

1257. Also: Return to Paradise, Beyond The Reef, etc.

1263. "Magnificent performances!" — High Fidelity

1590. Also: Anything Love Can Buy, This Ol' Riverboat, etc.

1015. Also: Go Away Little Girl, Up on the Roof, etc.

1537. Also: Lost in The Stars, Too Close for Comfort, etc.

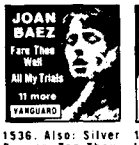
1614. Also: Forget Him, You Don't Own Him,SugarShack,etc.

1449. Also: Tell Old Bill, The Tarriers Song, etc.

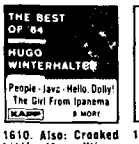
1453. This show is "bright and wholly beguiling!" — Cue

1090. "This is an extraordinary chorus." —New York Times

1457. Also: Fly Me To The Moon, Nina Never Knew, etc.

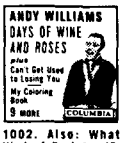


1536. Also: Silver Dagger, Ten Thousand Miles, etc.



1610. Also: Crooked Little Man, Wives And Lovers, etc.

1067. "Perhaps the greatest piano recording."—HiFi Rev.



1002. Also: What Kind of Fool Am I?, May Each Day, etc.

1602. Hailed as "a historic Hamlet!" — Life

1597. Also: How Long Is Forever, Please Talk to My Heart, etc.

1023. Also: Love for Sale, Candy Kisses, Marry Young, etc.

1605. America's most celebrated organist." — Newsweek

1448. Also: Sunshine Special, Goin' Home, Sinner Man, etc.

1362. Also: Exodus, Irma La Douce, The Apartment, etc.

1013. Also: Twelfth of Never, No Love, Come to Me, etc.

1603. Bernstein "at top of his form." — High Fidelity

1359. Standanavian, Rubberneck, Tootsie Roll, 9 in all

1598. Also: Cup of Loneliness, Color of The Blues, etc.

1443. Also: Slowly, Back Street Affair, More And More, etc.

1800. Corcovado, Once upon A Summer Night, 7 in all

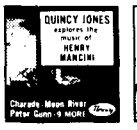
1301. Also: I Stayed Too Long at The Fair, Gotta Move, etc.

1057. Also: Johnny Reb, Comanche, Jim Bridger, etc.

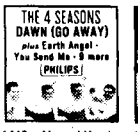
1096. "Electrifying performance...overwhelming." HiFi Rev.

1450. Also: Folsom Prison Blues, Bad News, etc.

1607. Also: Drowsy Waters, The Hawaiian Wedding Song, etc.

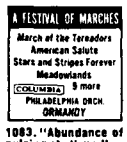


1554. Also: Days of Wine And Roses, Pink Panther Theme, etc.



1445. Also: Life Is But A Dream, Only Yesterday, etc.

1608. Also: The Blue Danube, Sabre Dance, Cielito Lindo, etc.



1083. "Abundance of pulsing rhythms." — St. Louis Globe-Dem.

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and for fire hazard (only about 85 percent do so). Additionally, there is a current shortage of about 840,000 beds in hospitals that deal with chronic diseases, and in skilled nursing homes. If Medicare becomes law, there is going to be an increased demand for hospital beds by the elderly; and the elderly, who are 10 percent of the population, at present use three times as many days of hospital care per year as younger people do, and receive 25 percent of all hospital care. Beds are not the only problem. Since the elderly are going to receive post-hospital care, there are going to be extra demands on out-patient nurses – of whom there are only about 20,000 now, who may find themselves having to try to cope with an increased two million visits in the first year of the Medicare program. Extra demands will also be made on physical therapists and doctors. A bigger demand for hospital care necessarily implies a bigger demand for doctors although the proposed legislation purports not to concern itself with doctors at all. Currently, the ratio of doctors to population in the US is standing still, although the US is drawing in medical skills from other countries at a rate of about 1,000 licenses a year. But the number of elderly Americans is rising relative to total population. President Johnson's plans for tackling strokes, cancer and heart disease will strain existing medical resources still further.

Despite these problems, enactment of Medicare ought to benefit the elderly who have moderate incomes. Hospital costs figure large in their budgets and have risen seven percent per year for 20 years, as against a rise in the general price level of about one percent a year. The elderly poor have hitherto been helped by public assistance and by the Kerr-Mills Act; now the middle-income elderly are to have their turn.

Outlook for Schools

The State of the Union message promised only $1.5 billion more for education, an increase in national expenditures of less than five percent. But the message also seemed to promise that this extra $1.5 billion would be spent on the kinds of new programs long urged by *The New Republic*, in which case it could generate more learning than $15 billion spent in conventional ways. The White House seems to have ignored the conservative National Education Association and others who want Washington to help pay the ever-expanding education bill, but not to initiate basic changes in the way educators go about their business.

The President apparently plans to concentrate much of the new federal effort on the children who have the greatest difficulty adapting to mid-century America, namely those from financially and culturally impoverished families. Pre-school programs in depressed areas (a fad which will revolutionize the slums if it does even half of what its supporters claim) are to receive federal subsidies, and so are elementary and secondary schools in these areas. Federal money may go directly to the poor districts.

The President also appears committed to encouraging more diversity in education by providing assistance to children attending private schools (including Catholic ones) and by providing scholarships and loans to college students. The scholarship and loan programs will make it easier for colleges to raise their tuition charges, which they badly need to do, and may also do something to offset growing financial pressures on middle- and low-income students to attend local commuter colleges.

Last but not least, the President has a commitment to enlarged federal support for school reformers who want the federal government to sponsor new curricula, new methods of teacher training and retraining, new relationships between the schools and other institutions, and new patterns of school administration and control. Legislation in this area is unlikely to go as far as the reformers wish, or to provide anything like the amount of money they want, but even so it could be among the most important developments of 1965.

The Future of Cities

With a few, meaningful words in his State of the Union message President Johnson went far to dispel a widespread sense of hopelessness about the future of America's cities. It was no pep talk. Nor did Mr. Johnson promise more housing, more urban renewal, more slum clearance, more expenditures or more of any of the complex but scattered remedies that over the past two decades have so clearly failed to bring about the miracles expected of them. Other than a renewed call for a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, he offered no specifics. But he did something far more important.

The President spelled out a goal, a general purpose for what it is we are trying to accomplish with all our hectic bulldozing and building and rebuilding. "The central problem today," he said, "is to protect and restore man's satisfaction in belonging to a community where he can find security and significance." The problem, he implied, is not just to build more housing projects, more school buildings, more highways and more business centers. It is to arrange and group and plan these individual structures and the spaces between

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in such a way that they add up to livability – that they give us a sense of belonging, and of pride and of neighborhood.

In our passion for clearing the slums we have destroyed neighborhoods and have actually taken away shelter from the poor. It was rotten shelter, to be sure. But even slum dwellings keep out the rain and can be called home. And that is better than what have been offered. Rather than take, Mr. Johnson proposes to give. He announced "new programs of help for basic community facilities and neighborhood centers of health and recreation." Such new community centers in the old, gray areas of the city as well as in the newer sections can draw people together and thus spark their collective will to improve their surroundings, as the President put it, "in harmony with their hopes."

"The first step," Mr. Johnson said, "is to break old patterns." The old ones have concentrated most federal efforts on housing the middle class in the suburbs and keeping the poor in their downtown ghettoes. The President would "begin to think, work and plan for the development of entire metropolitan areas." This heralds an important shift in emphasis. For orderly development to check urban sprawl must begin by making the inner city viable again. That means breaching the ghettoes, both by creating jobs and new communities for the slum dwellers out in the suburbs and open country, and by inducing the middle class to come back to live in the city where most of them work. It means a long-range program to combat the racial and social stratification in our metropolitan areas which has hardened the arteries of America and is, as we are beginning to see, largely responsible for urban decay.

Changes in Congress

Not since the period before the First World War has there been as historic a change in Congress as occurred last week. The rules changes and the decision to make party ratios on committees conform to actual strength in the House alter the mechanics of lawmaking in a way that will affect every measure.

The changes come after the first election in which the Negro vote was a decisive factor in the national results, not only in selected big cities but in the South. As a result, Southern members of Congress are realizing that in order to survive they need to have a new political structure supporting them. In Georgia, Senator Talmadge is revising his attitude – the elastic has gone out of the red galluses inherited from his father. In Virginia, conversations with Negro and labor leaders have been initiated by politicians who previously based their campaigns on denunciations of both. The Southern-Republican coalition is consequently not what it was; whether it revives as both Southerners and Republicans move toward the center remains to be seen.

Stripping seniority from the two House Democrats who went all the way with Goldwater indicates an end of the long tolerance of line-crossing. The Supreme Court's decision that the legislative branches of state and national government ought to have a representative character that they have lacked from the beginning of migration from farm to city has not yet been fully translated into state and congressional electoral district lines; but here again the writing is on the wall. It is almost as if the Court had reversed the Roosevelt story and packed the legislature. The effect on forthcoming legislative decisions will be great.

Vietnam "Hawks" And "Doves"

"In Vietnam today . . . we have the equivalent of about 4.8 divisions' worth of majors and captains, about 3.5 divisions' worth of lieutenants, and about three divisions' worth of master sergeants. . . . They . . . come out of our formally conceived deterrent forces."

That important statement was made last November by General Creighton W. Abrams Jr., Vice Chief of Staff, to the Association of the United States Army. When shorn of professional jargon it gives a vivid picture of the enormous cadre drain caused by the Vietnam war. Of a worldwide total of 16 US Army divisions, between three and four operate without their combat leaders or, more likely, a great many more units experience serious cadre shortages.

As the Viet Cong has hardly any Russian advisers and few if any Chinese advisers, the nasty little war in the mountains and swamps of South Vietnam represents a unilateral net drain to the United States in what every army lacks most – highly qualified junior leaders. In that sense as in many others the American commitment begins to resemble the French Indochina war. The French lost 1,300 lieutenants in Indochina; to date, the United States has suffered over 1,500 wounded and over 300 dead in South Vietnam, most of them junior combat leaders. What the drain would become if the war should be broadened to include North Vietnam or mainland China is anyone's guess, but no one in his senses believes it would be small.

It is in these circumstances that a small but extremely vocal group advocates full-scale American commitment, and contrariwise an ever-widening group,

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now including for the first time a broad spectrum of middle-of-the-road members of the Senate and House, advocates some sort of negotiated solution to the Vietnam problem. Recently there were rumors that "contacts" had been made with the Chinese in Warsaw to explore possible solutions of the Vietnamese problem, and that the Chinese had rebuffed those overtures. To the "hawks," the alleged Chinese rebuff was proof that only a military confrontation with China would solve the Vietnamese problem, just as an "eyeball-to-eyeball" confrontation with Russia over Cuba apparently solved the problem of Russian intervention in this hemisphere. To "doves," the mere report of "contact" with the other side about the problem was evidence of the basic moderation of the present policy as well as an implicit promise that further such contacts might well take place.

Many however are confused by it all and see no good way out of the mess at present; they hope that, by merely holding on and accepting the present rates of loss and levels of spending until the politicians and generals in Saigon finally realize that their country is at war, something acceptable can be snatched from the debacle.

The "hawks" seem to concentrate entirely on Red China rather than on North Vietnam or on the Viet Cong, and on maximum use of military force to the exclusion of other means. The fact that almost all their premises are partly or wholly erroneous does not seem to bother them.

Once more the Saigon military are trotted out as the only guarantors of South Vietnam from the evils of neutralism, as if the woods were not full today of neutralist military leaders, from Egypt to Laos. In South Vietnam, General Khanh last year purged several of his brother-generals on charges of "neutralism," and he himself has made noises sufficiently anti-American to qualify for good-conduct marks on the other side of the fence. It is true as the "hawks" assert that the South Vietnamese Army is the last organized force in the country – that is precisely what makes it important to any would-be neutralizing general. As in the case of the Chinese Nationalist generals who surrendered Manchuria, Peking or Yunnan to the Communists, such an Army, with its shiny American equipment, would make an impressive wedding gift or bargaining counter.

The other major unreality is to regard the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong as helpless Chinese puppets depending on Peking for their everyday survival. We are being told about the obsolescence of the Chinese Air Force and the smallness of the Chinese forces in South China, but not that the North Vietnamese People's Army's present strength is about *twice* that of the Japanese forces which captured all of mainland Southeast Asia in 1941-42. The South Vietnamese situation on the ground is bad enough without adding the weight of four or five of those divisions which defeated the flower of the French forces at Dien Bien Phu.

The final unreality is to make believe that the war in South Vietnam is being "lost" by the American press. That nonsense is trotted out with suggestions of further tightening the already ludicrously tight censorship: not in Vietnam, but here. There has been no map published showing an actual military operation on a scale where it becomes intelligible. The South Vietnamese Army releases detailed reports on the Communist units it faces, which make of the enemy the respectable military force it has become. Here in the US the authorities prefer to stick to "gooks anonymous." It is not the press which sank a helicopter carrier in the port of Saigon, allowed a major airbase to remain virtually unprotected, allowed a bomb to be smuggled into a key officers' billet, and bungled a whole Vietnamese Marine battalion into a rescue operation for four dead American soldiers who, in all decency, could have remained buried in Vietnamese soil until it was certain that they would not be used as bait in a gigantic trap.

On the other side of the spectrum, little can be gained by believing that North Vietnam would seriously consider giving up all the political and military advantages which it has secured at a heavy price, for the sake of joining some sort of regional TVA. Americans with a nostalgia for Point 4, and Frenchmen who can see a role for France in a reconstituted, neutralist Indochina Federation, share that belief, which may be just as illusory as the "hawk" idea of treating the Vietnam crisis as "Cuba II." An Indochina Common Market, a TVA on the Mekong – well and good, but only as frosting on the cake, after some sort of political-military accommodation has been found. Can one be?

Pressures that may not seem ominous to 700 million Chinese – whether they involve a small "escalation" such as introducing saboteurs, an actual landing of an American expeditionary force, or a threat of some measure in between – may well appear thoroughly menacing to 18 million North Vietnamese, who know the shambles that three years of Sino-American fighting made out of North Korea. North Vietnam already faces in Laos (through the hardly-veiled bombardment of Communist bases and supply lines), and along its own shores, mounting evidence of American strength. The possibilities of a diplomatic confrontation at the conference table exist in Vietnam today as they existed 14 years ago at Panmunjom in Korea, and it would be as unrealistic to underestimate America's leverage on Hanoi as it would be to overestimate Peking's leverage on the guerrillas of South Vietnam.

BERNARD B. FALL

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Snooping in the Park

by James Ridgeway

About 2:30 a.m. on October 22, 1963, Bartley E. A. Fugler, chief of headquarters security operations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, received a phone call from Roy Blick, then deputy chief of the metropolitan police in Washington. Blick ran the morals squad. Blick told Fugler the police had arrested a NASA employee, "observed acting in a very suspicious manner," and invited him to come down to the station. (This was not the first time Fugler had received such a call; NASA's security men have an arrangement whereby the morals squad calls them if an employee is arrested.) Fifteen minutes later, Fugler walked into Blick's office in time to catch the tail-end of a police interview with a man. This man had been observed by the police standing on the curb near Lafayette Park about 2 o'clock that morning. A sports car drew abreast of him and stopped. The driver, who as it later turned out was the NASA employee, rolled down the window and struck up a conversation. Then the first man got into the car, and the police watched it going around the block, saw it stop, the first man get out and into his own car, and then the two autos, with the sports car in the lead, proceed to a parking lot outside an apartment building in southwest Washington. As the cars pulled to a stop, the police stepped in and arrested both men.

Fugler remembers the man whom the police had seen getting in the sports car telling Blick he had come down to the Lafayette Park area in search of homosexual companionship. There, he said, the NASA employee had approached, and during the drive around the block had placed his hand on his upper thigh and rubbed it back and forth, finally asking him to come up to his place for a drink. Having found this out, the police gave the man a speeding summons and released him.

A few minutes later, the NASA employee was summoned to Blick's office. Blick asked him if he knew the other man, and to describe the circumstances in which the two of them were riding around the block together. "As I recall," Fugler said, the employee "denied that there was any homosexual overture on his part, but was inviting his friend up for a drink."

A homosexual act is against the law in the District of Columbia. Fugler said, "Chief Blick asked the NASA employee 'How long have you been a homosexual?' and he responded, 'I don't think I should answer that question without legal counsel'. Chief Blick then served the employee with a speeding summons and released him from custody."

Fugler, who had been listening all the while, then came forward, identified himself to the NASA employee and asked him to come down to *his* office for a talk. The employee agreed, and the two arrived at Fugler's office about 4:40 a.m., where they were joined shortly by Alden Barry, Fugler's assistant.

Between 4:40 and 6:30 a.m., the two security men elicited more information concerning the employee's sex life. No counsel was present. Fugler said the employee, now in his 40's, admitted homosexual acts in adolescence and college. The security chief claims the employee admitted having a "homosexual problem," and sometimes had memory "blackouts," during which he "might" have engaged in homosexual acts. At 6:30 a.m., pleading weariness, the employee broke off the interview.

Sometime later Mr. Barry visited the gentleman who had been standing on the curb seeking homosexual companionship, and got from him a statement essentially repeating earlier admissions to the police. The statement was not sworn; it does not describe or identify the NASA employee; it does not recite any overt acts; the man who gave it later refused to appear in person before the Civil Service Commission examiner, where the above events were recounted.

Subsequently, NASA charged its employee with "immoral, indecent and disgraceful conduct," and it claimed that he possessed "traits making him unsuitable for continued employment."

The employee denied he had performed a criminal or indecent act. He said he was not a homosexual; that his acts of youth were the result of "curiosity," and that he did not at present harbor any deep-seated misgivings about his true sexual desires. He said NASA security agents gained their initial information from interrogations leading from an illegal arrest (there was no search warrant or any probable cause, he claimed), and that subsequent statements were wrested from him under trying circumstances.

A federal employee for 15 years, this man held a rank of GS-14 at a salary of $13,700. His job was not sensitive. Indeed, Robert F. Garbarini, his superior and the officer who made the decision to fire him, said specifically that security was not a consideration. Nor was his work unsatisfactory. "I consider his work very

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good," Garbarini said at one point. What worried Garbarini was that the employee had not sufficiently been able to "explain away" the events of his early morning encounter, and he feared a recurrence might be "embarrassing" to the agency. He ordered the employee's removal. The Civil Service Commission concurred on grounds that the dismissal would promote the "efficiency of the service." The case now is in federal district court for the District of Columbia.

This case amounts to a good deal more than just another example of the security agents' pathological interest in routing out homosexuals. The courts have sought to define and restrict police procedures in order to protect an individual's rights before the law. But what good is this if the constabulary – as they did here, acting as an arm of the government's security police – can detain individuals and elicit all sorts of statements? The statements are then turned over for use before tribunals of the Civil Service Commission, where rules of procedure are considerably less rigorous than in federal courts, and where, in fact, it really is up to the individual to prove that hearsay evidence brought against him is not true.

Sigmund Freud's Gift

Freud opened exciting lines for personnel inquiry. A job applicant at the US Information Agency recently complained to Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. of an interview and tests he was required to take to determine whether he could "work with other people" before getting a research position. Two State Department examiners – a psychiatrist and a psychologist – who administered the tests turned him down. "This man runs from anxiety like a scared jackrabbit," said their report by way of explanation. Further, they said he wasn't likely to be able to work with people because he couldn't hold a job for a year. (In fact the man had held one particular job for six years.)

When investigators at another agency apparently suspected one employee of being homosexual, they sought to pry him out of his shell by offering such suggestions as, didn't everyone have his little homosexual incident, why not tell about yours. They wanted to know why he frequented various Georgetown bars, and finally asked for the names of the women he had slept with.

In his description of written psychological tests, in *The New Republic* last week, Professor Jesse E. Gordon suggested that such tests are not as bad as they may at first seem. One argument is that in the hands of a scrupulous psychologist, such examinations are useful management tools. They provide signals to personnel people to watch an individual's behavior more carefully; if it seems odd, he can be got rid of before causing the government grief. There are two things to be said about this. In the first place, there is reason to believe that these tests are *not* scrupulously managed, the results being used by all sorts of persons to reach any conclusion they may wish. Second, whether or not such tests provide a useful management tool, they are an invasion of privacy, and can be opposed on principle.

John R. Macy Jr., the head of the Civil Service Commission, in a recent letter to Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher, sought to reassure the Congressman concerning the propriety of the commission's investigatory techniques: "Any applicant for federal employment knows in advance that his record will be investigated. The application form includes a notice that all statements made in the application are subject to investigation. . . . The thoughtful applicant will recognize that the investigation process is a safeguard – to himself, for he can be confident that the work force he seeks to join is a select group; and to his country, for he knows that the inquiry is made in the national interest."

As recently reported, a number of federal employees in nonsensitive areas of work received questionnaires reminding them they had been hired subject to investigation, and inviting their comments on a number of "reports." Included were reports that one person's parents were alleged to have been Communists in the early 1950's; or in the case of another that he, while a student, had been invited to attend a meeting of a left-wing group which was "reported" to be in the throes of a Communist takeover. Mr. Macy says these questions must be asked to determine whether there "is reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the person involved to the government of the United States."

It would be interesting to have from Mr. Macy at some time precisely how the "national interest" is served by impugning the loyalty of a minor government employee in a nonsensitive job because there are "reports" that he was *invited* to a meeting of a group alleged to be in a power struggle with Communists.

In addition to being insulting, Mr. Macy's investigatory procedures apparently are of dubious value from the management's point of view. In his letter last week in *The New Republic*, Professor Gordon, who ran the selection process for the Labor Department's youth opportunity program, says the civil service checks on the 2,000 people in the program were largely useless. The arrest records were stale; details were sketchy and many records contained nothing more than outrageous allegations, hearsay and implied guilt by association. Civil service checks cost $5 each, putting the total cost for this program at $10,000. Professor Gordon is saying it was money down the drain.

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Steel's Abel To Raise Cain

by Hirschel Kasper

When an irresistible force meets an immovable object, something's got to give. But the prospect is anything but popular with labor and management officials who are preparing for collective bargaining sessions between the United Steelworkers (USW) and the basic steel industry that will determine wages, fringe benefits and working conditions of 354,000 steelworkers. This will be the first steel labor contract negotiated under the eyes of the Johnson Administration, and the first full-scale bargaining session in steel since the spring of 1962, when President Kennedy forced the steel companies to back down from their attempt to raise prices.

Recent negotiations in the automobile industry resulted in crippling strikes in spite of contract gains far in excess of the President's three percent guideline. Now steel could be even more turbulent, because of (a) the "spill-over" effect from the auto settlement, (b) a heated union election scheduled for mid-February, and (c) the reluctance of the Johnson Administration to bless a general increase in the price of steel.

The circumstances surrounding the auto negotiations are important to the impending sessions in Pittsburgh because the USW has always attempted to match or better the wage gains of the auto industry. Between 1946 and 1962 average hourly wage rates of auto workers rose by more than $1.65; in steel they rose by about $1.72. The latest contract gains for the auto workers seem to have gone beyond the national long-run productivity increase of 3.2 percent and may even have been as high as 4.5 percent. This settlement, which works out to about a 55-cent increase spread over three years, was possible mainly because of the unusually large profits of the auto industry. Yet the wage gains did not stave off dozens of strikes over "local working conditions," which cut auto production by more than 25 percent.

The USW will be forced to demand and obtain significant contract improvements not only because of its friendly rivalry with the UAW, but because the USW president, David J. McDonald, is threatened by a palace guard rebellion led by I. W. Abel, the international secretary-treasurer, who heads a full slate of opposition candidates, including Walter Burke, a district director from Milwaukee, and Joseph Mahoney, district director from Buffalo, New York.

Nominations for union office were received in early December, 1964; informal bargaining between the USW and the steel industry began a few days later; the contract reopened after January 1, 1965, and bargaining began officially; for the next weeks McDonald and Abel divide their time and energies between the bargaining table and the campaign circuit; on February 9, 1965, the union membership votes by referendum ballot; the USW may not strike until 120 days after the contract reopening, presumably the first of May; not until the first of June do the new officers take their positions. It is an understatement to say that the mix of collective bargaining and union election places unusual pressures on all concerned.

Leaders of the Abel slate have promised the rank and file that they will halt the trend toward centralization of all collective bargaining matters, particularly issues of primarily "local" concern. Many plant and regional USW officials are disturbed by a widespread feeling that the USW wage policy is made in the office corridors in Pittsburgh rather than in the union meeting halls across the country. Probably more important to the rebel cause, however, is rank-and-file dissatisfaction with the heavily publicized Joint Human Relations Committee. This committee consists of a handful of industry tops and USW bargainers who meet throughout the contract period to study and iron out problems without pressure from a strike deadline. Outwardly it seems a great success, but the rank and file and lower echelon union officials feel that the committee has driven another wedge between them and the management. All too often, it is argued, local union officials are reduced to paper shufflers, since there is less and less they can do to serve the membership: an unhappy situation for elected officials. The 1963 contract improvements were made entirely within the committee and passed down to the union membership for acceptance.

On top of this, McDonald has never commanded the immense respect and loyalty that the steelworkers gave his predecessor, Philip Murray. Resentment against McDonald has been growing since 1956. His opponents are convinced that his theatrical manner and attempts to emulate steel industry officials in his private

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life have weakened the union. Confidence in McDonald declined further when Arthur J. Goldberg, the USW general counsel and a brilliant negotiator, resigned to become Secretary of Labor.

Although Abel has a better than 50-50 chance to oust McDonald, the public's concern is not with the union election *per se*, but rather with the effect of internal factionalism upon the union's contract demands. McDonald's political problems will encourage him to be an extremely hard bargainer, at least until the votes are counted in mid-February. McDonald may have a strong preference for an early generous settlement, and the industry may have a slight preference for McDonald, but it is unlikely that the parties would collude in such a naked power play.

This is not the first time that a union has gone to the bargaining table in the midst of an election, but it is the first time for steel. The politically inspired union demands will reverberate throughout the economy for two related reasons. First, the strategic importance of steel in our economy keeps it continually in the public eye. A large wage hike in steel, coming after the increase in the auto sector, would signal negotiators in all other industries that a wage increase of 4.5 percent is the acceptable "pattern" this year.

Second, the steel industry is not sufficiently prosperous to be able to afford such a large wage increase without raising its prices, given the industry's goal of modernizing its facilities. The median profit rate in steel last year was only half what it was in the auto industry. This year the net income of steel may reach $1 billion for the first time since the investment boom years of 1955-57. The relatively low profit rate in steel is not the result of restrictive work practices, but of a relative decline in sales in the face of strong competition from domestic substitutes for steel and steel imports. Steel production in the United States averaged 103.8 million tons during 1962-63 and 102.6 million tons during 1954-55, an increase of one percent over eight years. In the meantime, steel imports have increased more than fivefold, and the United States now imports twice as much steel as it exports.

The Problem of Prices

President Johnson may have effectively foreclosed the traditional means of settling these disputes – pass the wage increase on to the consumer in the form of higher prices. He has announced that he will not condone a general increase in steel prices, and that such an increase would be socially undesirable. If he means what he said (he may not) the industry could not match the auto wage settlement and continue its program of modernization. Furthermore, even if Johnson will not go to the lengths that President Kennedy did

The Monster in the White House Pool

in enforcing price restraint, the increasing competition from steel mills abroad will serve as an important restraint on rising labor costs.

What will happen if the industry cannot meet USW demands from current profits or through price increases? One possibility is a prolonged strike, but there is no indication that the economy is prepared to suffer through another battle of attrition like the inane steel strike of 1959, which lasted 116 days. Although strikes have occurred in half of the postwar steel negotiations, there is reason to be optimistic about a peaceful settlement in 1965. The adverse effects of a steel strike are easily and often exaggerated, yet an impasse in bargaining would create heavy pressure for strong government intervention. In addition, both the union and industry are anxious to prove that they can resolve their own wage-employment dispute without interference and without damaging the rest of the economy.

The initiative for a work stoppage is less likely to arise in Pittsburgh than in the diverse locals, whose officials resent having lost much of their power over the past dozen years. The largest barrier to a peaceful agreement is the issue of local working conditions – plant work rules, safety, wage payment schemes and the like. These are matters of significance to the rank and file who are making about $3.30 an hour. Mc-

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Donald recognized that the local unions have not been able to bargain effectively over working conditions and so he announced a change in USW bargaining strategy: this year, local unions will bargain on working conditions with each plant before the general wage and fringe benefit negotiations begin in Pittsburgh. The new strategy may take some of the political heat off McDonald, but it cannot succeed as a bargaining technique because steel management will want to know the terms of the entire agreement before it makes any concessions on working conditions.

The prospect of securing a price increase will determine the industry's willingness to take a strike rather than accede to union demands. Most steel prices have increased over the past three years, but management believes that yet higher prices are necessary to carry out the modernization program. The recent very selective increases in steel prices can be explained in terms of traditional economic theory – an increase in present demand to hedge against a future shortage (the result of a work stoppage). But a likelier explanation may lie in another direction. The steel industry may be testing both the market for steel and the Johnson Administration to see if it can raise steel prices across the board. It has learned that price increases cannot always be forced on a weak market and a strong President. Two or three months may be necessary for management to gauge the reaction to its recent price increases, but the information obtained from this experiment will be of prime importance at the bargaining table. President Johnson realizes as fully as the union and industry that wage negotiation will be much more difficult if the steel industry is forced to rescind its price increase.

There is an interesting similarity between the wage-price strategy of this year, and that of 1962, when the Kennedy Administration and the USW reached an understanding on a non-inflationary wage demand making price increases unnecessary. This year the Johnson Administration would seem to be forced to reach an agreement with the steel industry over prices before the industry can make its wage offer to the union. President Johnson would likely seek a legislative or administrative remedy which could ease the burden of a costly wage agreement. Examples of such remedies would be (a) an increase in the protection of the domestic market from steel imports and (b) an increase in the "depreciation" allowances of steel to reduce steel's tax burden. In both cases some action can be taken without congressional approval; witness the recent "agreement" of the Internal Revenue Service to reconsider the railroads' claims to depreciate certain equipment and trackage. Such remedies, which are little more than outright subsidies, are harmful to consumers and taxpayers and serve to justify the suspicion that the union and the industry collude against the public.

In summary, the coming negotiations will subject the process of collective bargaining to almost impossible pressures. There are more problems than one can reasonably expect men of goodwill to solve by themselves. The easiest solution, a government "bribe" to the industry to maintain its prices and yet grant appropriate contract concessions, is the least desirable from the point of view of the general public.

A Trip to China – II

by Ross Terrill

Peking

Impossible to sleep. The cicadas sing as if in millions, and the very bushes outside the window seem to exude heat. In the hotel courtyard a young Chinese is doing his *tai chi chuan* – rhythmic, snakelike exercise.

At 8:30, having freshened up as best I could, I go to breakfast and order orange juice and an egg. I explain that I do not want bread. The Chinese are convinced that no Westerner can eat a meal without bread. Unfortunately it is awful bread, dense and dry and bitter, and much too heavy to add to a meal with rice.

The service is excellent at the Hsin Chao Hotel. It is especially nice that you don't have to wait at all for the bill: it comes about half a minute after the last mouthful, without fail, so the day can be planned without fear of delays caused by the wretched business of trying to catch the eye of a waitress.

Two postcards must be posted, then off to the Summer Palace. Generally there is no gum on the back of the postage stamps, so you have to take paste and brush. The stamps supplied to visitors are enormous, depicting scenes of socialist construction in bright color. "What part of the stamp do I put the postcard on?"

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one baffled tourist says to another. Postage is not expensive. International cables are, but at least there is no difficulty in sending cables in English.

An old Morris for a taxi again today, but the driver seems good. The hotel porter has given him instructions to wait two hours for me at the Summer Palace and then bring me back. As we drive out toward the Western Hills, the streets are thronged as usual, most of the people dressed in neat cotton clothing – shapeless slacks for the women and shorts for the men. Soon, with the onset of colder weather, the costume will change to the famous padded blue suits; already in the stores you see people stocking up on the winter garb. How hard it is today to imagine that the temperature ever falls below zero in Peking!

No Cats or Dogs

Only in the Netherlands are there so many bicycles; they loom up on all sides. The driver is silent and relaxed, just putting his hand up at each corner to move the arrow which is the car's traffic indicator.

There are an inordinate number of photographic studios in the streets of Peking, and like the excellent bookshops they are obviously well patronized. We pass a market where people are lining up to buy fish. The streets are not always clean or free of smells, but there is no obvious degradation; no beggars or sick people lying on the footpath, as in many Asian cities. No cats or dogs are to be seen, because, according to a resident French journalist, the government disapproves of them.

Occasionally someone makes a mistake in the traffic, and he is spoken to by others. If it is clearly a majority view that he is in the wrong, he looks embarrassed and bears the criticism. In such circumstances I never saw any shouting or arguing. The police will spend half an hour reasoning with a man who is in the way of pedestrians, and another half an hour lecturing a man who has transgressed some minor law.

There is a tremendous sense in China today of a people at work. They work hard, and it is a common sight to see them taking a nap at a bus stop, or in the lunch hour, or in their pedicab. No one seems to be out of work. If you try to hire a man for a special piece of work you simply cannot get one: the authorities will tell you that it would mean taking someone off his regular job.

I asked my interpreter where he lived. "Why, in the dormitory with the others," he replied. The "others" are his office colleagues, and the dormitory is the place which is allotted to them along with the job. With the job there often goes a particular bed, and in that bed and no other do you sleep. Such a system provides the tightest possible control by the Communist Party. Also, it is either brought about by, or engenders, an intense corporate spirit. Private destinies are subordinate. The deepest hopes and fears, enthusiasms and indignations, joys and sadnesses of millions of Chinese people are in my opinion not personal in nature, but related to the corporate life of the Chinese nation, and the socialist cause in general.

After talks with a number of Chinese, as well as foreign diplomats and journalists in Peking, I came to the view that the bitter dispute between the Russians and the Chinese is bound up with the central struggle of China's effort to feed her people, and to industrialize and modernize her country. Russia has achieved her basic industrialization, and today she is more and more in a position to relax the iron discipline of earlier years. China on the other hand, only 15 years away from her revolution, is still basically engaged in achieving a stable and sufficient food industry; only after that is attained will industrialization receive systematic emphasis, and only after that again will houses and all that goes in them receive emphasis at all. The kind of relaxation that is going on in the USSR, and the philosophy of "goulash Communism" which goes with it, would loosen the discipline of Chinese society, and with it the control of the Communist Party. At a time when the Chinese Communists think it vital to adhere to Marxism-Leninism in its strictest form, the Russians are producing liberalized revisions which are a mortal danger to the taut and tender skin of Chinese Communism. So the battle with the Russians is a matter of life and death to the Chinese leaders.

Every floor of the Hsin Chao Hotel, and its restaurant, its bar, its billiard room, its lounges, its post office and its reception desk have free copies in eight or 10 languages of pamphlets such as *The Leaders of the CPSU Are the Greatest Splitters of Our Time*, and *On Khrushchev's Phony Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World*. At one of the rallies held to express solidarity with North Vietnam while I was in Peking, the Vietnamese ambassador upbraided the Americans for outrage after outrage. Each accusation was stoutly applauded by the vast audience. Then he attacked the Russians for not expressing immediate support for the North Vietnamese over the Gulf of Tonkin clashes. At this the audience roared its support – with much more punch and fire than they had spent upon the anti-American sallies. The journalist who told me of this incident said he thought the anti-American attacks are so common now that support for them is getting a bit mechanical, but that the anti-Soviet talk is fresh and can and does rouse people readily.

But back to the Summer Palace, where my driver left me at the gate, with the loan of his sunglasses to dim the glare. The parks of Peking are fascinating places,

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and the Summer Palace, for 800 years a haven of the emperors, is the greatest and grandest, covering about 660 acres. You can meditate in the Temple of Perfect Tranquillity where Ming Emperors meditated; in the Peihei Park you may inspect the Hall of Ten Thousand Buddhas, built by the Manchu emperor Ch'ien Lung to commemorate his mother's 80th birthday; in the Coal Hill Park you can even see the tree where the last Ming emperor hanged himself during a peasant revolt.

And these parks are full of activity. There to one side a band is practicing; here is some sort of study group; in the background boys at a ball game; family parties boating on the lake; soldiers stretched out on the grass; an orchestra performing in a music shell; a dozen little children, Young Pioneers with their red cravats, weeding a garden under supervision, and hiding themselves when a camera appears; two young employees of the park at work, one carefully cutting dead shoots off a bush with scissors, and the other neatly putting them in a bag.

The manifold temples and pavilions of the palace overlook the porcelain blue of Kunming Lake, edged around with lush greens, rather after the manner of a classical South China landscape. You get a sense of the harmony of nature with what has been added to it, as you do in Chinese paintings. Climb higher along a winding path, and there appear pavilions in more and more dramatic settings, until you wonder no longer at what unfolds itself next in these superb hills.

From the painted wooden balcony of the Sea of Wisdom Temple the full majesty of the Western Hills is spread out, and to the southeast, beyond the lake, smoke rises from the industrial quarter of Peking. On the lake itself there are hundreds of colored craft. The air is like the air over the Neckar River at Heidelberg, and there is even a bridge – the Seventeen Arch Bridge – which closely resembles the old stone bridge in the German town. Amidst the blue and green of the panorama, brilliant flashes of color leap up from the slopes: they come from the famous Chinese tiles, a deep aqua-green and an egg yolk, which form the roofs of the temples and the pavilions. A glance under the eaves of the Sea of Wisdom Temple reveals new glories, blended still from these same two colors.

The taxi driver was not at the gate, and since there was an appointment to keep in Peking I quickly took another car, driven this time by a girl. The first driver still awaited me, as I found out back at the Hsin Chao, where he had telephoned. I was wearing his sunglasses and I was anxious to pay him, if not for the loan of the glasses at least for the cost of his return journey, since he had waited two hours. But no one would take even the amount originally quoted for the journey – 63 shillings. Forty shillings was all the taxi cooperative would accept, together with the borrowed glasses. I could not persuade them that to give four shillings for the loan of the glasses was not a tip but a rental.

Mr. Terrill's first report on his trip to China appeared in the January 2 issue; there will be two more.

Declaring a War on Injustice

by Ronald Goldfarb

Peruse any city's newspapers and you will find reports of incidents like these:

► A Puerto Rican man and his wife bought some furniture on time. The store sold out to a second store, and the couple was told that there was no record of their payments. The second store threatened to take them to court if they didn't pay up in full. The man paid because he could not afford to leave work to go to court. "I just got my job and I didn't want to lose it."

► A Negro housewife agreed to purchase a watch from a door-to-door peddler for $60. She gave him $3 down and received a payment book. Later she had the watch appraised and discovered that it was worth $6.50. She called the company to return it. They threatened to go to court; she agreed to go to court. "The next thing I knew about this, I get a court notice of judgment by default for the $57 balance, $5 costs by statute and $14 court costs." Process-servers in cases like this often use what is called "sewer-service" – they simply throw the summons away.

► Five men in upstate New York had worked faithfully for six months in a program for unemployed

Ronald Goldfarb *is an attorney as well as writer. His forthcoming book about the American bail system is to be published by Harper and Row in the fall.*

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whose families were on public assistance. One day, the temperature was near zero and they were assigned to cut brush along a country road where the snow was waist deep. They refused to do this but offered to do other work. They were sent home. Later, they were convicted of "a willful act designed to interfere with the proper administration of public assistance and care." They were sentenced to four to eight months in prison. Only recently the New York Court of Appeals reversed this conviction after the American Civil Liberties Union intervened in the case.

► The roof of the home of a woman with seven children was destroyed by fire. She had been supported by welfare. She was too poor to move or to repair the damage. The welfare agency cut off her welfare payments because she was living in unsuitable housing. (A young woman who heard about the case voluntarily went to the welfare authorities and appealed the ruling – successfully.)

There are innumerable instances of similar injustice. What can be done about them?

At a recent conference in Washington, D.C., on enlarging legal services to the poor, Elizabeth Wickenden, a charming and articulate expert on social welfare problems, said she hoped that some day the decision of the Gideon case (establishing the defendant's right to counsel in criminal actions) would extend to all civil actions, as is the case in Britain, and also to all complaints against the government bureaucracy, as in the Scandinavian countries. There are signs that these ideas are catching on. The American legal profession has been undergoing a change in perspective about legal representation of the poor, who are approximately a third of the population. Some lawyers are beginning to feel that they have a responsibility to democratize the administration of law. Recently attention has focused on the criminal defense of the poor, but now a part of the profession has gone further, arguing that people in their infinite transactions with each other and with the government need counsel, and that they need it *before* conflicts ripen.

The People's Friend

The Scandinavian countries have long had an "ombudsman," meaning a procurator of law who is an independent, high official appointed by Parliament. The first ombudsman was created in Sweden in 1809.

Any citizen who has a problem or a complaint about a government administrator or civil servant can bring it to the attention of the ombudsman. The Danish ombudsman (a former law professor) receives about 1,000 complaints a year and the Swedish ombudsman (a former Supreme Court judge) about 1,200. In 10 or 15 percent of cases the ombudsman takes decisions involving criticism of a government official. Government officials must cooperate with him and disclose facts or papers at his request. He can recommend change, and he can (but rarely does) institute prosecutions of officials, though he cannot overrule past administrative actions. He works with the public through the press and by personal contact, has a constant national audience, and influences the government through his popularity, prestige and publicity. Essentially, he serves as a conscience of the government and a friend-in-power to the people. He tries to avoid what are essentially political questions but, as has been the experience of our Supreme Court, this is probably impossible. His cases include both the petty and the vital. Writing about the Swedish ombudsman, one commentator recently stated that he ". . . is equally concerned with the slothful garbage collector, the venal tax collector, the lax building inspector, and the irresponsible playground supervisor." The law requires him ". . . to inspect prisons, institutions and the courts. He may criticize the police. Periodically, his aides review court calendars and a sampling of records in both civil and criminal cases, to ferret out evidence of undue delays, favoritism and inequity."

Denmark's ombudsman has investigated charges of misconduct on the part of a museum director who functioned under the control of the Ministry of Defense; the treatment of a doctoral thesis that was submitted to the Royal Veterinary and Agricultural College; control of the operations of certain bus lines by a national tribunal; the adequacy of the supervision of a bank by the Inspectorate of Banks; and even the negligence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in not spotting the gradually deteriorating conduct of an embassy official who eventually committed espionage. The ombudsman is, in sum, a powerful and versatile inspector-general – but an agent of the people and not of the "establishment." Need for his special services is by no means confined to the poor, but it certainly helps them too.

England, whose legal system is a parent of ours, has a variation of the ombudsman – citizen advisory boards (CABs), established by the National Council of Social Service. Originally, they were to assist people uprooted and variously put upon by the war, and were financed by government but run by voluntary bodies composed of lawyers, government officials, educators, religious leaders and lay volunteers. These boards have since expanded into a unique and successful program of miscellaneous neighborhood aid. The Beveridge Plan of 1948 recognized the need for CABs to explain to citizens "the workings of public authority when the latter . . . is acting wrongly," and "to make the world appear, to many citizens in distress, to contain some element of reason and friendship." CABs have some

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paid staff but are mostly run by part-time volunteers. More than 450 offices operate in England, Scotland and Wales, answering more than a million inquiries a year about housing, marital affairs, indebtedness, and generally helping iron out the countless wrinkles of social life. Some out-of-the-way places are visited periodically by mobile CAB units.

CABs assist people to find work or to fill out papers, prepare booklets dealing with common problems such as purchasing a home, and produce background materials for remedial legislation (an example is their informational study which was a basis for the Rent Act of 1958). They work closely with the legal profession, and keep up to date a book that explains government laws, rules and regulations, lists local services and officials, and adduces the results of their experiences with general problems.

Since 1958, England has also had a council on tribunals, whose function is to review the practices and procedures of Britain's more than 2,000 tribunals. Complaints of citizens are investigated and, where appropriate, conferences are held with representatives of the department concerned. In addition, the recently amended Legal Aid and Advice Act now provides that anyone over 16 and without means may receive free legal advice from one of more than 8,000 participating solicitors. In one year almost 13,000 applications for legal advice were received. The assistance embraces both criminal and civil cases.

What the United States Needs

The United States is too big to have an ombudsman – an official sitting in Washington is not the best way to help people in Pittsburgh. But the US needs something like an ombudsman, and there are some partial analogies already in existence. The Civil Rights Commission, the criminal justice section of the Department of Justice, civilians on police review boards, even the historic grand jury investigation and report, are examples. But something more is needed. The American Bar Association, the Hoover Commission, the Landis Report have all called for some agency like an ombudsman to act as an additional check on the improper use of administrative power. Congressman Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin has proposed a congressional administrative counsel patterned after the Scandinavian ombudsman, and has introduced legislation to bring it about. His administrative counsel, like the ombudsman, would be empowered to "review the case of any person who alleges . . . he has been subjected to any improper penalty, or . . . denied any right or benefit to which he is entitled under the laws of the United States." The counsel would conduct investigations with the cooperation of all officers and employees of the United States, and report to Congress.

A number of US cities – Washington, D.C., Boston and New Haven are examples – are in the early stages of community programs that will include neighborhood law offices which make lawyers available to people in the community who urgently need counseling. The US may be groping after a community agency that will combine the spirit of the ombudsman with the versatility of the CABs. The "agency" could, in a small city, be a single person – it is not the aim to add to the bureaucracy. The action point would be the neighborhood lawyer or lawyers. One aim would be to see that the poor are fully represented in their encounters with organized society. As Murray Kempton wrote in *The New Republic:* "We have been raised to believe that an object of charity does not argue with the society which dispenses it . . . We are [also] a society where rights are defined by adversary proceedings in court. The welfare client, having not before had many lawyers, has not until now had rights."

The idea that lawyers can be especially important in the war against poverty has recently had national attention. In a Law Day speech to the University of Chicago Law School last May, the then Attorney General, Senator Robert Kennedy said: "We concentrate too much on the traditional stuff of the law – on lawsuits, courts and formal legal learning – too little upon the fundamental changes in our society which may, in the final analysis, do much more to determine the fate of law and the rule of law as we understand it. . . . There remain whole areas of the law where no more than a handful of lawyers go to assist those most in need of legal help. How often does one find the needy represented by counsel in dealing with social-welfare agencies, unemployment-compensation review boards, or schools and welfare officials, finance companies or slum landlords? . . . We, as a profession, have backed away from dealing with that larger helplessness. We have secured the acquittal of an indigent person – but only to abandon him to eviction notices, wage attachments, repossession of goods and termination of welfare benefits."

In a speech at the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial dinner in Chicago, Sargent Shriver indicated that the poverty program will include support of neighborhood law firms to advocate and assert the rights of the poor, either under the broad community-action programs of Title II of the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act, or by funds provided to develop separate projects by independent organizations. Along with their traditional assertive and litigious functions, lawyers are thus going to be practicing more and more what some call preventive law – saving the marriage, avoiding the unfair installment contract, preventing crime by heading it off before it is committed.

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Right Turn in California?

When California reapportions its Senate this session under Supreme Court order, the effect will not be the same as in states like Illinois, Ohio and Florida, where more urban votes promise more progressive legislation. Rural (northern) California was, and has remained, largely liberal. It will yield the majority of its lost seats to five Southern counties, San Diego, Orange, Los Angeles, San Bernardino and Riverside – a hub of coastal conservatism. That means an exodus of staunch Senate liberals, and one more shock to the coalition that is the Democratic organization in the state.

The philosophers of the Democratic coalition are the members of the issue-oriented California Democratic Council – the volunteer club movement which takes its liberal veneer from the old Adlai Stevenson movement. At the other end of the party spectrum are thousands of wage-earners, not belonging to minority groups and not too liberal, who emigrate mainly to Southern California from the South and Midwest, swelling suburban tracts in numbers which defy penetration by community leaders or political activists. The state's pace-setting social legislation – such acts as the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1960, the Aid to Needy Children measure, the Consumer Protection Counsel – are as incomprehensible and unpalatable to them as socialism.

Last November 3 they were given, in Proposition 14, an opportunity to wipe out by referendum a measure they didn't take to – the Fair Housing Act which prohibited racial discrimination in commercial housing of four or more units. Despite opposition by virtually every responsible organization in the state, the anti-anti-discrimination proposition was a smash hit – it received nearly a two-thirds majority, 65.1 percent. There is considerable evidence that Proposition 14 became a backlash issue, hurting Democratic candidates most in counties where the Southern and Midwestern emigration is heaviest. By October, Senator Pierre Salinger, who campaigned against Proposition 14, had lost his 16-percent lead of June over Republican George Murphy. Salinger's heavy support vanished so abruptly his staff was stunned.

Murphy's strategy had been carefully mapped out by three Nixon campaign veterans, Robert Finch, Sandy Quinn and Sanford Weiner. Deliberately avoiding issues, they saw the contest as one celebrity *versus* another. Their first goal was to get the former tap-dancer before television viewers. His old movies were played on evening television, and Murphy in person played an elder version of the twinkling, smiling nice young man. A Salinger staff man complained later, "I think we got beaten by a third-class B movie. George was told to keep his mouth shut and take his cues, and he performed like an old pro."

Murphy avoided Proposition 14 "as a matter of conscience." He refused to repudiate the John Birch Society. He said he disagreed with Goldwater on two or three issues: in fact, the new junior Senator from California is an extremist. For two decades he has been in the forefront of a group called The Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals. It became standard procedure for erring actors to confess Communist activities to the Alliance as a first step in getting off the blacklist. This year Murphy said, "Some shady characters in a dark nook of the State Department pushed China behind the Iron Curtain, refused to let us win the Korean War, and handed Cuba over to Castro"; they also "pre-sold the American people on the test-ban treaty." Murphy promised, if elected, to "root these people out and expose them for what they are – Communists and Socialists or people who think like Communists and Socialists." Now we shall see.

The backlash from Proposition 14 penetrated Southern campaigns, often viciously. In Orange County, John Birch Society member John G. Schmitz was elected to the state Senate, and Proposition 14 won 5 to 1. In King and Tulare Counties, where Assemblyman Myron Frew lost his seat to Republican Gordon W. Duffy, a pamphlet was circulated which said only, "For MORE and MORE and MORE Negro rights, vote Democrat."

There were several such pieces. One was a letter written on behalf of a Republican in Kern County: "Dear Fellow Democrats, we have been double-crossed by our own Assemblyman Williamson. He voted in favor of the Rumford Forced [sic] Housing Act and you know what that can do to the value of your house and mine when our neighbor is forced by law to sell his home to Negroes. Yes, forced to sell to Russian Communists even if he doesn't want to. So, even if it hurts we must vote for the Republican. . . ." Page two is a reprint of an AP wire-photo of October 15 showing a girl stabbed in a subway in Brooklyn. The caption says she was stabbed and robbed of 50 cents by a Negro. Swimming against this tide of propaganda, Williamson won, but barely.

The new conservative strength in California is regarded by political pragmatists – the Democratic Speaker of the Assembly, Jesse Unruh, among them – as a clear signal to turn right, which rankles both the CDC and Governor Brown. Unruh has criticized Salinger for being too outspoken on issues. Assembly Majority Leader, Jerome Waldie, contemplates no push on social legislation this session. Seldom has a party organization been so battered and remained in office.

MARGARET FJELDSTED

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An Exile from Socialism

by Joseph L. Featherstone

Love and Revolution is a confession, an apology, and a hymn to the experiences of which Max Eastman has been the locus. More than most memoirs, this lucid, unwieldy book is an exercise in conscious egotism. Critical self-awareness has amounted to a spiritual calling in Eastman's long life. Inside him twinkles a small, shrewd, sacred crystal of self which women and movements have never been permitted to touch.

Love and Revolution
My Journey Through an Epoch
by Max Eastman
(Random House; $8.95)

He grew up in a humane and intellectually curious world, passionately devoted to Art and Uplift. Mark Twain was a friend of his parents, both of whom were Congregational ministers in Elmira. By the turn of the century, they – like many other liberal Protestants in America – had succeeded in blending religion, aesthetics, morals, and Victorian science into a vague, but deeply-felt doctrinal piety for all experience. It seemed scarcely a break at all when young Eastman translated their religion into his secular worship of experience; nor was it a long philosophical distance to travel when he and another young radical named Sidney Hook became protegés of John Dewey at Columbia.

In some circles in New York in 1913, revolution was a happy word. The young revolutionaries were the beneficiaries of the genteel culture, but they were rebels against it in the name of Whitman and Veblen.

Between 1913 and 1922, Eastman stood at the center of New York intellectual life. He edited the brilliant socialist magazines – *Masses*, and its successor, the *Liberator*. Before the cataclysm of the war, it still seemed possible to unite artistic and social revolution under one banner, and by and large this is what Eastman succeeded in doing. *Masses* reflected his hard-bitten interest in a scientific socialism, as well as the gay and innocent flavor of prewar cultural radicalism: bearded Wobblies attending tango teas in Greenwich Village. Anybody who was anybody wrote for *Masses*. With its handsome layouts, and the editorial standards set by Eastman's own clear and epigrammatic prose, it became a model of imaginative journalism.

After the war hysteria and the Red scares, everyone's eyes were on Russia. Eastman's friend, John Reed, returned with an inspiring account of Lenin as the Whitman of the Revolution. Eastman, the disciple of Dewey, imagined Lenin as a scientist coolly working in the laboratory of history, engineering the transformation of a peasant society into an industrial utopia. Socialism was an experiment; the class struggle was a hypothesis whose truth would be tested through experience.

In 1922, he made a pilgrimage to Russia to see the great experiment at first hand. He ended by staying five long years; and his account of Russia in the twenties reads like an extended vacation at an increasingly unpleasant summer resort. There were, he discovered, very few followers of John Dewey in the Kremlin. This was not a movement run by cool applied social scientists; it was a nest of gloomy bigots, who took their Marxist sacred scriptures seriously indeed.

The struggle for power when Lenin died in 1924 dismayed Eastman. He paints a vivid picture of Trotsky's fatal indecision during the party congress when Stalin seized control and suppressed Lenin's "Testament" warning the comrades against Stalin's ambition. As the darkness of Stalin's orthodoxy settled, Eastman's self-awareness took over: he was a Yankee from upstate New York in the court of a Byzantine King Arthur. He fled.

For a time, he continued to believe in a science of revolution, but he had lost all faith in Russia. He was the first to publish to the world an accurate account of Stalin's shabby victory, and this made him a kind of bogeyman of the International. Later in the purge trials, any Bolshevik who admitted to a friendship with the "notorious crook" and "gangster of the pen" Eastman (the phrases are Stalin's) was treated as if he had confessed to putting ground glass in the workers' butter.

The chapters on the long subsequent relationship with Trotsky are some of the best in the book. He worked as Trotsky's literary agent in America and did translations – he got a penny a word for a superb translation of the *History of the Revolution*. Both men were alike in fascinating ways. Both hated politics, really. They approached the revolution with the temperament, though in Trotsky's case not necessarily the values, of an artist. They hungered for a supreme, complete act of creation. Trotsky was clearly too much the religious prophet for Eastman's tastes. The Mark Twain democrat had, like so many other Americans in the twenties, dreamed of scientifically engineering massive cultural changes. Yet like Trotsky, Eastman was altogether hypnotized by the act of revolution. What the new culture was to consist of, how it was to be administered, what the point of the whole thing was to be – these were all enigmas. If the ideal Republic of his imagination ever existed, he never explained its content. And despite the interest in cultural change, his Marxism, no less than Trotsky's, was abstract, lacking in economic and social analysis. (Edmund Wilson wrote that Eastman seemed to believe that the Bolshevik Revolution had failed because of bad logic.)

In the early thirties, Eastman began a series of books attacking Marxism as unscientific; the best of them, *Marxism, Is It Science?* (1940), is still one of the keenest critical studies of Marxist philosophy ever written. But of course no one listened. He was reviled by the

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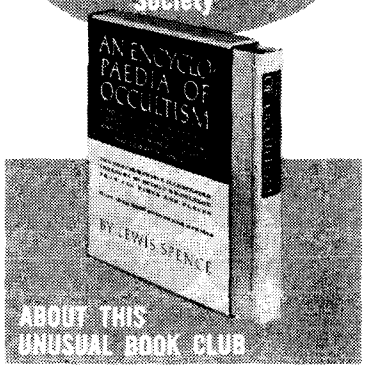

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Communists and by liberal friends, too. These chapters leave a bad taste. Eastman himself was endlessly, needlessly defensive and self-justifying – which may be a measure of how lonely he felt. Now he is somewhat apologetic for the bitter and querulous things he said in those days; but only somewhat. He had a sense – perhaps an accurate one – that few intellectuals in the thirties were listening to reasoned arguments about Russia. At any rate, he despaired, and a new, self-pitying tone entered his writing. It was the tone of a man speaking alone to a huge empty theater.

And so it went. The last two decades are also faithfully recorded here: *The Literary Mind* attacked obscurantism in modern art and was misunderstood, because it was such a crabby book; his studies of laughter were well-received, but his documentary film of the Russian Revolution sank into a mire of litigation. There was a stint writing for *The Reader's Digest;* a retreat further into private life; and a curious half-baked project to debunk the Bible, which leaves us with a dispiriting echo of Mark Twain in Elmira.

How are we to respond to such a tale? With envy for Eastman's verve: here is a man who has been debonair about his future. With wonder for the people he has met, and the varied scenes he has witnessed: besides Trotsky, there are sharp vignettes of H. G. Wells, Chaplin, Beerbohm; moving accounts of the *Masses* trials and the war hysteria; and a skillful evocation of the nervous, hopeful chaos of Russia in the early twenties. With awe at the man's comprehensive, tough intellect. And with dismay at some of the uses he has put it to.

We also regret the amount of space he has devoted to his love affairs. For it is unhappily true that Love receives as much attention as Revolution in this memoir. Eastman warns us sulphurically of lapses of taste to come in his foreword; but he has nothing revolutionary or even very interesting to disclose on the subject of love. Yet there is a cloying complusion to tell all. The reader pauses while Eastman wallows in feeling, and then the supple prose resumes its graceful flow, and we are left wondering what the point was. The point seems to be that in life, as in his old-fashioned mauve and yellow poetry, he is a dogmatist about emotions. He really feels that there is an absolute value to his experience of feelings – even when a rare experience happens to reveal him as a heel. Perhaps this is a matter of temperament. Or perhaps, as when he tried to debunk the Bible, Eastman is still fighting for his breath inside the bell jar of the genteel culture he was raised in. If that is true, it seems a pity, because, after all these years of liberation, it is unnecessary. And if there is one public and private lesson we can draw from the experience of the last fifty years, it is that lovers, no less than revolutionaries, can find uses for poise, restraint, and manners.

Wrapped in the cloudy reflections on his love affairs seems to be some line of thought on the connection between the private world of love and poetry and the public world of revolutionary events. I wish he had pursued this. Sometimes what he says amounts to a statement of disbelief in politics: "I shall die wishing that I had devoted myself to poetry." Sometimes, though, he is on the edge of something more profound. Thus he saw a part of the truth about the Russian Revolution when he visited Trotsky in exile on Prinkipo and noticed for the first time that there was something sinister in the prophet's indifference to beauty. The hint seems to be that any humane politics is supported and maintained by the slender threads of private values. We measure the failures of our politics against values like friendship and beauty; they are not the substance of politics but they are the point of all the activities we engage in, including politics. They shrink politics into perspective.

Into perspective, but not clean out of sight. We can accept Max Eastman's warning: politics is a limited activity, and it can never satisfy people completely. But we need not share his dispair of politics; there still remains the political problem of creating a world where the private values he sings of can exist unthreatened and flourish.

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Source Book for Jungians

by Morris Philipson

It might be illuminating if some day the story of intellectual life in the 20th Century were written metaphorically in the language of social, political, and military history. There would be the analysis given by the status-geographers showing how religious thought dropped from middle-upper to lower-lower in coordination with the upward mobility of pure science from lower-middle to upper-upper. The historian of diplomacy and national alignments would be able to demonstrate how mathematics and logic, once thought of as the Germany indispensable to either East or West, suddenly became – to everyone's surprise – the completely neutralized Switzerland and Sweden on the intellectual map. Social workers could draw up reports on how mass production and mass education made possible two Van Goghs in every mental garage. And the militarists would show how the war within psychology proceeded with means that ranged from juvenile delinquency through economic competition to character assassination.

Man and His Symbols
Edited, and with an Introductory Chapter by Carl C. Jung
(Doubleday; $14.95)

Jungian psychology has been the underdog in the conflict within the psychoanalytic movement during the past fifty years. It has appeared to be a sort of French Republic staggering under the assaults of a world with no respect for its grandeur. But it seems very likely now, as the battlefront journalists send their reports in these days, that the tide is turning. There is simply more interesting work being done, more original thinking being produced, more suggestive lines for development being initiated by those who choose to learn from Jung than by those who choose to ignore him.

The history of Jungian psychology has been marked by one quixotic or paradoxical event after another. For those who responded purely to the epical qualities of the struggle with Freud, the crucial question was simply that of loyalty to the Master. In another image, Jung appeared as a Satan – Miltonic, of course, but definitely fallen from grace. For those concerned with the white-coated laboratory structure of a "science," Jung threatened them with the image of the "mad scientist" eager to introduce goblins and fairies into their sterilized corridor of statistics. The chilling specter named "Was Jung sympathetic to the Nazis?" still haunts the politically oriented. But now that both Grand Old Men are dead, it begins to become possible to examine the subject matter itself with a new objectivity. The publication of the volume under review here, however, is truly another instance of the oddities associated with the course of the Jungian movement.

What could appear more meretricious than a "popular introduction" that measures 8" by 11", weighs 3 pounds and 3 ounces, and sells for $14.95 before taxes? It is amazing that this work turns out to achieve exactly what its subtitle proposes – "a popular presentation of the essential ideas of Jungian psychology." It is the best layman's introduction to Jung's psychology to have appeared so far. The fact that Jung wrote the first of its five parts, and in the last year of his life supervised the writing of the remaining sections, gives it the quality of a retrospective summary of the major themes and implications of his system of thought as expressed by the Master himself. Joseph L. Henderson, M.-L. von Franz, Aniela Jaffé, and Jolande Jacobi are the other contributors to the volume. It is neither polemical nor apologetic; in the strict sense of the word it is dogmatic – it offers its doctrinal system, the body of its teaching, in outline, as if no controversy persists over its principles, methods, conclusions, or ramifications.

This volume will bring to resolution none of the live issues still requiring debate. It can be useful only in attracting attention to the body of Jung's thought. The crucial arguments will have to be carried on elsewhere. But when the text alone of this excessively illustrated, overpriced book becomes available in an inexpensive paperback edition it ought to mean that some 10,000 people each year can afford their first meeting with one of the most important movements in the history of thought.

What are some of the crucial issues? The first is concerned not only with whether psychoanalysis is a science but with the nature of science itself. Jacques Barzun's brilliant criticism in *Science: The Glorious Entertainment*, for example, is so challenging that although it has been greeted with enormous resistance and it may take years to make itself deeply felt, there is no doubt that the coming changes will be tremendous in philosophy of science, in epistemology, and in the interpretation of the role of the sciences in culture. The second is concerned with the nature of analytical psychology itself. Perhaps it is possible that the Jungian and the Freudian systems are compatible in the sense that the particle theory and the wave theory of light are compatible. One explains some phenomena that the other does not. On this model, is it not possible that Freudian psychol-

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—*Christian Science Monitor* $3.75

by FRED REINFELD

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ogy is for extroverts and Jungian psychology is for introverts? I do not mean this to be taken as only a rhetorical question; but, of course, these descriptive categories were introduced by Jung – not by Freud.

In private many a Freudian simply condemns Jungian thought as "a fine psychology for schizophrenics." In public they follow the line of Ernest Jones and Edward Glover in rejecting Jung as "a throwback" to pre-Freudian conscious psychology. But the professional in-fighting is not what concerns the interested layman. What he sees is that Jung's point of departure from Freud is a theory of differences between signs and symbols. For Freud both are symptoms reducible to the individual's own past experiences and they are useful for interpretation only in overcoming neurotic "blockages" to an effective, healthy life. For Jung only signs are such symptoms, whereas symbols characterize an unconscious phenomenon leading not to reinterpreting a past event but to grasping future possibilities. Freudian thought appears to be exclusively concerned with overcoming the drawbacks that the past puts in the way of an individual's development. Jung takes that problem to be only half of the function of a theory of the psyche. The other half, for him, is concerned with how an individual can determine what is most appropriate for developing his particular individual life – if he were healthy, and not neurotic. The fact that the source for such "guidelines" to future development is said to be in the archetypes of the collective unconscious makes the Freudians reject Jung out of hand. The terms are unacceptable to them because they are in the language of mythology; the general hypothesis is rejected because there is no known physical means for such a supposed psychic inheritance. It is because Freudian psychology is modeled on 19th Century biology and physics that the latter rejection is total. But biology is no longer limited to what was known in the 19th Century, and physics now has to cope with Mach, Bohr, Heisenberg, and "synchronicity."

If one cares about the life of the mind, this is a superbly exciting time to be alive. The movements of thought that started with exclusive devotion to sensory observation have issued into

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THOMAS JEFFERSON

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theories completely ungraspable by reference to empirical experiences alone. Is the "mythology" of Jung's so-called archetypes any farther removed from the observations from which psychoanalysis began than the terms of subatomic physics are remote from the observations which served as the starting point for modern physics? Our immediate future is the epoch during which political economy will be confronted by the paradox that automation promises to produce: a constantly expanding supply of marketable goods in the presence of a constantly expanding but unemployable population. Both in technology and in pure thought, systems of interpretation based on devotion to reason have led us straight to conclusions that are totally irrational. In philosophy itself – we are on the verge of seeing the confrontation of existentialism with pragmatism, which promises even more significance than the equally indispensable confrontation of existentialism with Marxism.

Unlike the Freudian tragic sense of social life, the context of Jungian psychology is existential concern for individual authenticity. And the continuing exploration of this enterprise promises to be one of the most valuable of all current undertakings. To ignore Jung is to remain in the rock pool of pre-20th Century thought. If one is completely unfamiliar with his theories, one has to begin somewhere. *Man and His Symbols* would appear to make it easy. But this is deceptive. It is easy only in the sense that Will Durant's *Story of Philosophy* is easy, and that bears about as much relation to philosophy as reading a menu bears to eating a meal. This is not to reject *Man and His Symbols;* but it leads to the inescapable questions raised by the very idea of "popular education" or the planning of books for "the general reader." For all the value that one might believe is promised in making difficult ideas accessible to the masses – where the life of the mind is concerned, it is best to remain a snob.

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Growth and Stagnation

by Paul Mattick

Economic growth is the main social problem in both the developed and underdeveloped countries. It has led to a return to "political economy" at the expense of "pure economics," and Maddison's book is a good example of this reversional trend. Where most treaties on economic growth deal with underdeveloped nations, Maddison is concerned with the nations of the Western world. These nations adhere to a managed market economy, which is to say that most of their production is in private hands, and in all of them the government modifies rather than determines the flow of income. The countries selected account for about half of the world's income, for 60 percent of world trade and industrial production, and for a third of its agricultural output, even though they comprise only 15 percent of the world's population. With respect to economic growth, however, these nations differ among themselves, and Maddison tries to find reasons for the relative stagnation of capital formation in the United States and the United Kingdom at a time when the nations of continental Europe are experiencing unprecedented rates of economic growth.

Economic Growth in the West: Comparative Experience in Europe and North America
by Angus Maddison
(Twentieth Century Fund. $4.50)

Maddison holds that it is "essential for the progress of the world economy that the rich countries get richer. They will thus be enabled to export more capital and provide better markets for the less privileged." He sees the development of economically-backward regions as a by-product of rapid capital development in the advanced nations, even though the whole history of capital development contradicts this assumption. Maddison may argue, however, that the rate of advance in developed nations has never been great enough to benefit the underdeveloped countries sufficiently, and that a greatly accelerated rate of growth may finally do the trick. For him, the feasibility of a more rapid growth rate has been demonstrated by the European economies and is not contradicted by diametrically different occurrences in the United States. In his view, all that America would have to do to achieve similar results is to adopt those economic measures which account for European prosperity.

Maddison raises the questions why mature economies, relatively stagnant for several decades, suddenly accelerate their development, and why others do not. He finds that the answers are "rather simple," at any rate with respect to theory, even though the application of theoretical insight may be a more complicated matter. A full exploitation of the growth potential, he says, demands a high and steadily expanding

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level of aggregate demand, uninterrupted by major domestic or external deflationary forces. He found that such a high and stable demand was secured in postwar Europe by active fiscal and monetary policy. There is reason to believe, he writes, "that the successful experience of Europe in managing demand represents a permanent sophistication in the technique of managing a capitalist economy with fairly general policy instruments." All that the United States, or other stagnating nations, would have to do is to "learn from Europe the art of economic management."

This "art" consists in government spending and government consumption, both civil and military, and in distributing income in such a way as to increase aggregate demand. It implies increasing government determination of investment policy. The stepped-up expansion of production and investments in European economies is explained by increased government regulation. European governments control from 40 to 60 percent of total investment activity. The governments of the United States and Canada control only about 30 percent. The American emphasis on the virtues of a balanced budget, Maddison writes, "has no postwar counterpart in Europe, where there are no statutory limits on fiscal policy such as the ceiling on government debt and on the interest rates payable on longer-term government securities as in the United States." In brief, although the "art" of creating prosperity is generally known, it is not everywhere practiced with equal élan, much to the detriment of the United States and the world at large.

Maddison's "art of economic management" is Keynesian. It depends on the willingness of governments to manage the level of overall demand and the full utilization of productive resources; on the maintenance of a competitive price level, which presupposes a great measure of agreement on economic goals by workers, employers, and government; on sufficient savings and investments; and on cooperative international arrangements beneficial to all nations. The "art of economic management" depends, then, on conditions which do not exist, and which cannot be expected to arise as long as the capital formation process, nationally as well as internationally, is also a competitive capital concentration and centralization process. Economic growth affects various social groups and nations differently, and governments have neither the inclination nor the power to harmonize all the contradictory internal and international interests for the benefit of the world as a whole. This situation manifests itself precisely in different rates of growth between different nations and in the spreading gap between developed and the underdeveloped countries.

The fact remains, of course, that the average investment rate in Western Europe *is* much higher than in the United States. This needs an explanation but it will not be found in Keynesian theory, for all Western nations adhere to the principles of the mixed economy. Nor will it be found in the degree of government intervention; rather, the varying degrees of government control are themselves in need of explanation. The actual conditions of European economies since 1950 were merely more susceptible to economic expansion than the conditions prevailing in America. In the former, the war resulted in a great amount of capital destruction in both economic and physical terms, while in the latter there was no destruction but further expansion. In order to forestall the total collapse of the European market economy, extraordinary government controls and American aid were required to recapitalize the European economies. Both capital and labor accepted the conditions of rapid capital formation at the expense of wages and disposable income in order to restore Europe's competitive ability on which her existence depends.

The same policy applied to the United States, even if it were possible, would have quite different results. It would expand a productive capacity already too large in terms of available markets. European economies, it must be recalled, expanded at the expense of consumption, for only what is not consumed can be invested. To expand the American economy at the expense of consumption would simply lead to more unused capacity, or to a glut on the commodity market. To increase the aggregate demand by income policies that favored low-income groups could only hasten economic growth if this growth were not dependent on a definite rate of profit on capital. The opposite, however, is the actual case. The expansion of the European economies, to repeat, was brought about not by a "managed demand" concerned with consumption but by forced investments. Of course, with the expansion of production through the growth of investments went the expansion of consumption. But this is an effect, not the cause, of economic growth.

The special growth rates of the European economies are due to special conditions created by the war, which are bound to lose their present effectiveness in the process of growth itself. To a lesser extent, they are also due to economic policies consciously adopted to secure development, such as the breaking-down of tariff walls in intra-European trade, specialization and mergers within the Common Market, and a public and private credit policy which imagines that the accumulation of debts is the accumulation of capital. What Europe is now experiencing is no more than a development stage previously experienced in America, and if

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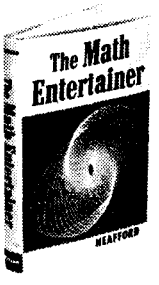

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the European economy ever catches up with the United States with respect to size and efficiency of capital, its rate of growth will decline as it has in the United States. Far from teaching America the "art of economic management," Europe will have to learn from the United States how to maintain a market-determined economy despite a low rate of capital expansion, and how to divert an increasingly larger part of production into wasteful channels instead of into capital additions.

With all this said, it must still be pointed out that Maddison's book is of great interest. Despite its rather shallow theorizing, it contains reliable economic data which may be put to different and more fruitful use. Its statistical material is quite independent of the theory it attempts to support and will be of help to anyone interested in economic growth and in the difficulties impeding its realization.

FILMS

Vitality, Simplicity, History

Zorba the Greek (20th Century-Fox)
Nothing But A Man (Cinema V)
The Guns of August (Universal)

Anthony Quinn, always an impressive personality and sometimes a good actor, gives the best performance of his career in *Zorba the Greek*. Presumably this is partly due to the help of his director, Michael Cacoyannis; partly it is due to the fact that the figurative coat they have here snuggled on to Quinn's big shoulders is cut from the best material he has ever worn. With an actor like Guinness or Mastroianni or Mifune, although some roles are encompassed more comfortably than others, each portrayal is an attempt to select or emphasize qualities in himself that best fit the character, like selecting colors from what the palette contains. With Quinn, in whom variety is not a strong point, it is a matter of finding the parts that fit *him* best. The rugged old vitalist of Nikos Kazantzakis's novel is the richest one he has found: Quinn is not different from before, only much more so because the texture is better. He makes the tough, juicy, dancing, dallying old man flare across the screen, and his warmth convinces us that this man lived before we met him and will continue afterward.

This performance is all that holds the film together. For Cacoyannis's screenplay, necessarily condensing the novel, has also distorted it. The book is about the relation between two protagonists, the intellectual-mystical narrator and the hedonist Zorba. In the film Zorba takes the center, and the narrator becomes his "feed," thus hampering what Alan Bates might have contributed to the part. The change robs the film of a sustaining inner tension and makes it a series of episodes, not equally successful and without cumulation.

In his last film, *Electra*, Cacoyannis's chief attribute was his pictorial eye. *Zorba* has the same cameraman, Walter Lassally, and was made on Crete but it is not particularly striking visually. More important, Cacoyannis does not establish the ambience of his village. It comes as a somewhat incredible shock when these hitherto friendly Cretans brutally murder a widow who sleeps with Bates. (Because a youth whom she spurned has committed suicide. Was she obligated to accept the youth or no one?) Unexplained, too, is how the Bates and Quinn characters then reconcile themselves to accept this murder and live among the men who did it.

Still the picture has power, because of the ebullience of Zorba, which is not

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Joseph L. Featherstone *is a graduate student at Harvard.* Morris Philipson's *book,* Outline of a Jungian Aesthetic, *was published by the Northwestern University Press.* Paul Mattick *is the author of a recent study of Marx and Keynes.* Reed Whittemore *is poetry consultant at the Library of Congress.*

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posited as the sunny side of life but as the "lifeness" of life, amidst the greed, stupidity, bad luck of the world. Irene Papas, the widow, is, as always, fiercely effective. A Russian-born French actress, Lila Kedrova, plays an aging courtesan who has retired to this village, a performance that somehow seems wistfully scented. These ladies and Quinn make the film exceptional, good enough to be worth seeing and to be disappointed in.

On a quite different scale, *Nothing But A Man* is another film that exists by virtue of character reality – a Negro man and wife. He is a worker on a railroad section-gang who comes to a small Alabama town and falls in love with a schoolteacher. Her father, a minister, has learned to accept his Uncle-Tom place in a racist milieu; she finds her solace and purpose in her work. After marriage the hero does his best to accept local conditions but inevitably runs into trouble. There is a satisfactory conclusion: which is to say it contains neither pat solutions nor ringing promises.

The dialogue, if it lacks distinction, is also free of exhortation and cliché. It sounds like people talking, not like a doughy morality play (as in the recent *One Potato, Two Potato*, a title that describes its characters perfectly). There are no surprises in the story, but there are no manipulations. The verities are made by the two principal actors, Ivan Dixon and Abbey Lincoln. Dixon is continent, strong, unhistrionically angry; the attractive Miss Lincoln radiates quiet understanding, the patience of faith.

The screenplay was written by Michael Roemer and Robert Young. Roemer directed and Young did the photography. In all departments they are intelligent and competent. Facile preachments of future brotherhood by TV dramatists, equally facile preachments of present hate by James Baldwin and LeRoi Jones, have prepared the way for this modest, taking film.

An especially welcome gift last Christmas was a set of bound volumes of *Punch* for the years of the First War. To open them is to turn on a tap of now-ironical humor (the jokes about the inept Germans, the eagerness of English boys to get in before the war finished) and of nearly incredible sentiment. Their theater critic wrote of a dramatization of *David Copperfield* in late 1914: "And though its matter bears no relation to the subject which absorbs our hearts, the very name of Charles Dickens makes immediate appeal to that national spirit which the War has awakened."

The First War is still the most tragic in Western history because it signifies much more than the end of an era. Every large war has marked some sort of turning-point, but the First War marked the end of (among other things) an attitude towards war that had existed since the beginning of history. These cartoons and jingles in *Punch* would have been intolerable to most Englishmen in the Second War. During the "Phony War" of 1940, London music-hall entertainers were singing *We're Going to Hang Out the Washing on the Siegfried Line*, but even then it sounded like imitation 1914, not an expression of the times. The song disappeared soon thereafter.

Barbara W. Tuchman's *The Guns of August* recreated in fascinating intricacy the movements of European history from the funeral of Edward VII in 1910 to the end of the first month of the First War. It is a narrative grim with lost opportunities and, particularly, with self-dug channels that condemned the future to the mistakes of the past. (See our government's Vietnam policy today.)

Nathan Kroll has made a documentary film that uses Mrs. Tuchman's book as a blueprint. Much of it, though inevitably thinner, is almost equally bitter and well balanced. Kroll has researched well and has found, along with some familiar film clips that had to be expected, some footage I had never seen, like the taxis of the Marne. Where the film wobbles is where it abandons Mrs. Tuchman's scheme of concentrating on the overture and opening; about two-thirds through, the picture suddenly gallops ahead to give us a quick tour of the entire war, thus wrecking its focus and the sense of treatment in depth that it has created. When it forsakes the plan of the book,

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it becomes just one more compilation of newsreels trying to do rather too much. Two elements are noteworthy. The narrator, Fritz Weaver, provides the best speaking of a film commentary that I can remember, an intelligent presence without ostentation. And it is a small jolt to realize that this is all silent footage to which effects have been added, so dexterous is the work of the sound mixer, Dick Vorisek.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

T. S. Eliot 1888-1965

In a better world than this one I might have been able to write these words before reading T. S. Eliot's obituary in the *Times*. But the *Times* in its orderly way has been lying in wait for the man for years; so too have a great many teachers and scholars who have sensed dimly for more than a decade that they had on their hands perhaps a major poet, perhaps a minor poet, but certainly a dead poet, and therefore fair game. Even Mr. Eliot himself seemed to have this sense of himself a few years back when he delivered a lecture about "The Waste Land" with the detachment of a Martian. All our literary morticians have had their say. Perhaps he has earned a few years of simple silence.

Yet (always the "yet," followed by pages and pages), for anyone who grew up between the big wars thinking of "Prufrock" and the rest as somehow of the essence of poetry, it is difficult even to meditate in silence about this poet's death without as it were employing some of the poet's own "terms." I am saying that in a sense he now lives on, for his admirers, in the quotation-ridden thoughts they entertain about his death, they having learned a good deal of what they know and feel about death from him, learned of growing old with their trousers rolled, of dying with a little patience, of shoring fragments against their ruin, of dancers gone under the sea, houses gone under the sea, of captains, bankers and eminent men of letters fading off into the dark. It is not just the words and phrases that contain the death preachment; the preachment is also lodged in the tone and manner, in the basic intellectual and emotional stance that the poems project, a stance that the admirers, having picked up, now live with.

Meanwhile it is this stance that Eliot's detractors have also picked up, but only to mock him. In the word "stance" – an unfortunate one – lies their complaint: the man consciously and with insufferable deliberation and detachment adopted, cultivated, rigged up a way of poetry which produced poetry which was not merely not good poetry on the subject of death but nearly managed to be the death *of* poetry.

These lines have been long drawn, but now the man is dead. As a reluctant long-time admirer I can only see a great and abiding consistency in his controversial stance, a stance which seems to me now to have been surely no stance at all in the bad sense, but just a way of looking at things, a considerate way. Partly of course the way was bred into him by all the immediate social and cultural circumstances the positivists have always been eager to cite; but of course it was also more than that, it was a way that has always been bred into all considerate poetry. A poetry of death like his is no more a stance in the bad sense than the surge of the sea may be said to be a stance, the sea to which, to paraphrase the man, there is no end, no beginning – and certainly at the heart of it no contriving. To his admirers Eliot was a great poet of that sea.

But how unsealike and unseaworthy is *this* poem, *this* stance: "Twit twit twit . . . so rudely forced."

REED WHITTEMORE

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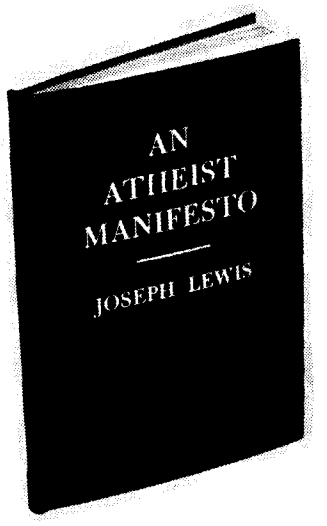

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Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Physicians and the Aged

Sirs:

Michael H. Alderman's account of "Why We Need Medicare" (December 6) represents one of the most thoughtful detailed accounts by a "member of the club" as to why the proposed Medicare Program is a sound step toward meeting the very serious problem of providing adequate medical assistance to our older people.

It is especially encouraging that a doctor has taken the debate out of the realm of emotion and analyzed the issues in hard factual terms. I suspect that most doctors are deeply committed to providing excellent and adequate medical care for older people who lack the means to pay for such care, and undoubtedly, many in the medical profession share Dr. Alderman's concern that a reasoned solution of the problem be adopted soon.

This article provides further support for two conclusions which do more justice to many doctors and the government in this controversy than has been the case in the past:

1. Despite the AMA's diligent work to obscure the fact, our doctors do care about older people and ways that they can be helped to secure medical help without going deeply into debt.

2. Contrary to what some AMA spokesmen have charged, the government has carefully and wisely, over a period of considerable time, made serious and intelligent efforts to develop a sound way to make more and better medicine generally available to our older people.

By printing this excellent article and making more visible the silent opinion in the medical profession, your magazine has made a distinct contribution. Hopefully this will encourage other members of Dr. Alderman's profession to state forthrightly their views on this issue and if, indeed, they take legitimate exception to the government's proposal, to suggest alternative methods of solving the problem during the next session of Congress.

James S. Hostetler
Alexandria, Va.

Creative Playthings, Games Research

Sirs:

In the article on "War Games" by William Honan in the December 19 issue, the author states that the game *Diplomacy* was published by Creative Playthings, Inc. This is not so. Creative Playthings, as its name implies manufactures original, thought-provoking children's toys, while *Diplomacy* – an adult game – was published by Games Research, Inc.

Helen F. Bell
New York City

The Child Who Has Nothing

Sirs:

Your article on "The Child Who Has Nothing" (December 26) made me sit up and take notice. As a teacher of the mentally retarded, I have been involved in the great mystery of just what causes the vast majority of mental retardation. We know about the many real physical accidents which strike the brain, but the large "garden variety" of retardates has been a tremendous question and problem. Obviously, something happens to these children between birth and school age. The statement that your article makes concerning malnutrition affecting retardation presents a real clue in the path to follow toward combating this terrible waste and drain on society.

Is it possible to obtain further information on this malnutrition subject? Do you have references of names of contributors in this symposium?

Mrs. Elinor F. Smith
Morrisville, Vermont

Others have inquired similarly. The information can be had from Dr. LeRoy Voris, executive secretary of the Food and Nutrition Board, the National Academy of Sciences, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

– THE EDITORS

Those "Natural Athletes"

Sirs:

In "Laugh Off $11 Million?" (January 2), John Tunis states that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are "natural athletes, with unusual coordination."

I have heard ad nauseam that Jews are sensitive ("look at Jascha Heifetz") or grasping, that Chinese have a "natural tendency" to become opium addicts, that East Indians are "naturally" ascetics, the French amorous, the Russians soulful, etc. etc. etc. But I have never yet seen anything remotely approaching scientific evidence that any of these presumed racial correlations are genetically controlled.

Before we start assigning virtue or vice on the basis of race, it would be wise to wait until the physiologists and anthropologists have laid a firm factual foundation.

Until there is solid evidence to the contrary, I for one will be satisfied with the simple view that athletic prowess, as well as learning ability, has been doled out by a dispassionate hand to Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Anglo-Saxons and Tasmanians.

David Todd
Shrewsbury, Mass.

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No single organization, no matter how well-intentioned, can of course change this. Art of All Nations, Inc. was formed primarily to bring the best art by the best living artists in each country into more homes, and aid as a result the artists.

In this undertaking art experts of many nations have volunteered their services. They include Mr. Jean-Hubert Delamarre, lecturer at the Louvre museum in Paris; Mr. Pierre Guastalla, president of La Jeune Gravure Contemporaine in Paris; Madame Tharé-Rouillère, Professor of Art History and Lecturer at the Versailles Museum; and art gallery experts from Paris to Tel-Aviv. They are helping to select the art and the artists. Naturally the artists have joined this undertaking wholeheartedly, and have agreed to create works exclusively for Art of All Nations, Inc. at low prices.

You are now invited to participate in this cultural experiment for one year for only one dollar. No obligations. You will receive for your dollar all the following benefits: you will automatically participate in the drawing for an original etching by Matisse and by other established masters. You will receive periodically for one year catalogs which will illustrate great art and contain background information about the artists and art trends in many countries. You will be entitled to buy signed, numbered, original lithographs in several colors, engravings and other works of art by these upcoming masters at a price comparable to a pair of theater or concert tickets. Similar works are being sold today in the U.S. at prices 50% to 75% higher. It is likely that the works you buy will double, treble, and more in value. You will be welcome in the artists' studios when next you travel abroad.

Fill out the coupon now. Add the names of any of your friends who might be interested in joining you in this unique cultural experiment, and enclose one dollar for each name. They will be notified that you sponsored them. If you wish to be eligible only for the drawing and not for any of the other benefits, send in the coupon without the dollar.

You are invited to embark on a cultural adventure for the next twelve months. Mail the coupon today. Your first catalog containing the works of artists from France, Japan, Hungary, Germany, Spain, Bulgaria, Israel, Lebanon, will be mailed to you.

NOTICE

Coupons received up to Jan. 30 will be eligible for the drawing for an original etching by Renoir. After that date, for an original colored engraving by Matisse.

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- ☐ Enclosed is list of friends and $1.00 for each. Advise them that I sponsored them.
- ☐ Consider my name only for the drawing.

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